On playful language divergences. Code-switching among Spanish-Portuguese bilinguals

Sobre el humor y divergencias lingüísticas. Alternancias de códigos entre bilingües en español y portugués

Ana M. Carvalho
University of Arizona, United States of America
anac@u.arizona.edu

Katherine Christoffersen
University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, United States of America
katherine.christoffersen@utrgv.edu

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Abstract

Uruguayan Portuguese, a variety of Portuguese which occurs in contact with Spanish in northern Uruguay along the Uruguayan-Brazilian border, has been perceived to be a mix of Portuguese and Spanish, in which speakers are either unable to separate languages or engage in code-switching for pragmatic purposes. Here, we analyze in-group communication using visual and verbal data extracted from video recordings of conversations among bilinguals in northern Uruguay, in order to investigate whether all language mixing is random or if speakers engage in pragmatically meaningful code-switching. We identify instances where Portuguese was inserted into Spanish segments with the intention to shift the frame from serious to non-serious, and offer a sequential analysis of code-switches which, together with gestures and prosody, clearly function to perform irony, sarcasm, disparagement, and teasing. This analysis illustrates how speakers draw on their bilingual repertoire to enact playful roles, adding to previous literature that has shown that despite prolonged bilingualism, the distinction between cognate languages is available for the manipulation of discourse functions, such as the construction of humor.

Keywords: code-switching, discourse analysis, humor, Portuguese,pragmatics, Spanish.

Resumen

El portugués uruguayo, una variedad en contacto con el español en el norte de Uruguay en la frontera con Brasil, ha sido clasificado como una mezcla de lenguas, y sus

hablantes como incapaces de separar los idiomas o usar la alternancia entre ellos con propósitos pragmáticos. Ese estudio utiliza datos verbales y visuales extraídos de grabaciones de video de conversaciones entre grupos de amigos y familiares bilingües, con el propósito de investigar si todas las alternancias de códigos son en realidad al azar o si los hablantes las usan como recursos pragmáticos. Los resultados muestran ocasiones donde los hablantes cambian del español al portugués con la intención de alterar el marco de la conversación de serio a no-serio. A través de un análisis secuencial de alternancias, acompañadas de gestos y prosodia, se muestra claramente cómo los hablantes usan la alternancia como recurso lingüístico en la construcción pragmática de ironía, sarcasmo, menosprecio y burla. Se concluye que los hablantes usan su repertorio bilingüe en la ejecución de roles chistosos, lo que apoya el argumento que, a pesar de un largo periodo de bilingüismo, la distinción entre las lenguas cognadas sigue siendo un recurso pragmático disponible, como por ejemplo en la construcción del humor.
Palabras clave: *alternancia de códigos, análisis de discurso, español, humor, portugués, pragmática.*

Introduction

When closely related language varieties such as Spanish and Portuguese are in contact for a prolonged period of time, frequent language mixing[1] is to be expected due to the existence of infinite possibilities of grammatical interpenetrability. This assumption is based on the fact that similar sentence structures facilitate language switches, which may promote structural changes diachronically, resulting in the suppression of syntactic differences (Muysken, 2006, p. 157). Repeated mixing may lead to a type of language alternation that itself constitutes the language of interaction (Auer, 1999, p. 6), and carries a strong cultural identity in the community (hence folk names such as *Spanglish, Portuñol, Chinglish*), to the point that "identity-related purposes of this style may become more important than the discourse-related tasks code-switching serves" (Auer, 1999, p. 12). Thus, it is conceivable that in these situations, bilinguals may eventually lose the ability to use code-switching for pragmatic purposes, as predicted by Auer's typology. According to Auer (1999), when language mixing is the norm, it may develop into fused lects, where massive restructuring leads to a sedimented third linguistic system that becomes the only choice for the speaker. In each of these progressive stages, from code-switching to language mixing and then fused lects, a progressive decline in the ability of code-switching to carry pragmatic functions is observed (Auer, 1999).

[1] Language mixing here is used as an umbrella term for various language contact phenomena.

The varieties of Portuguese spoken in northern Uruguay along the Uruguayan-Brazilian border have been perceived to be a case in which prolonged contact between cognate languages leads to the creation of mixed codes where languages are no longer separated and language switches are unable to carry pragmatic functions.[2] In fact, Uruguayan Portuguese is commonly thought to illustrate a prototypical case of a mixed language, "a stable and natively spoken new language" (Lipski, 2009, p. 5), one where there is "true hybridization rather than simple bilingualism with code-switching and borrowing" (Lipski, 2006, p. 8).

Based on the susceptibility of cognate languages to merge into mixed codes in situations of prolonged contact, it stands to reason that Uruguayan Portuguese would be a textbook case, seeing as it illustrates a stable mixed variety spoken by monolinguals,[3] rendering meaningful code-switching impossible. However, variationist analyses have found strong continuities between border varieties and surrounding monolingual varieties, arguing that although language contact phenomena are abundant, border Spanish and Portuguese maintain structural divergences,setting them apart from prototypical mixed varieties or fused lects (Carvalho, 2003a, 2014; Waltermire 2008, 2010; Pacheco, 2014; Castañedo Molla 2016; among others). In this paper, based on fieldwork in the Uruguayan border town of Rivera, we further investigate this assumption by exploring whether speakers of local varieties who produce frequent code mixing still engage in code-switching for pragmatic effects. We answer this question by identifying clear instances of humorous language alternation in both visual and spoken data, extracted from a corpus of spontaneous conversation among speakers of border varieties, where departures from Spanish to Portuguese clearly constitute discursive strategies meant to generate humorous turns.

Humor as a function of code-switching has been documented extensively across a variety of languages, including Greek Cypriot (Gardner-Chloros, 2010), Spanish/Catalan (Woolard, 1983), German/Italian (Auer, 1988), and within distinct contexts and modes, such as computer mediated conversations (Androutsopolos, 2006), classrooms (Hancock, 1997), protests (Ervin-Tripp, 2001), email (Georgakopoulou, 1997), and Facebook (Saeeda, 2013). While many studies have identified the use of code-switching for humor, it is generally included in a broader analysis of functions

[2] As done by Hickey (2010, p. 4) and Lipski (2010, p. 568) in the *Handbook of Language Contact*, 2010.

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of code-switching, with humor as just one of these (Auer, 1988; Zentella, 1997; Paugh, 2005; Finnis, 2014; Cahyani, De Courcy, & Barnett , 2018; among many others). Few studies have specifically analyzed the role of humor in code-switching through a detailed sequential turn-by-turn analysis; however, there are some noteworthy exceptions. For instance, Cekaite and Aronsson (2004) present an analysis of repetition and joking in a Swedish immersion classroom for first through third grade students who had immigrated to Sweden from Iraq, Lebanon, Thailand, and Turkey and spoke Arabic, Thai, and Kurdish, respectively. Broner and Tarone (2001) examine language play in fifth grade second language (L2) Spanish immersion students in the United States. Additionally, Belz (2002) analyzes adult use of second language play as it relates to developing multicompetence among native English-speaking students in their fifth semester of German classes at a university in the U.S. While these studies analyze L2 learners, the present study contributes to understanding humor and code-switching in the context of societal bilingualism. This study also analyzes the use of humor in code-switching by highlighting four specific types of humor represented in the dataset, taken from the field of humor studies: irony, sarcasm, disparagement, and teasing. An utterance which contradicts its intended meaning represents irony (Burgers, Van Mulken, & Shellens, 2011, p. 190), with sarcasm being a type of irony which is often employed for complaints or criticism (Jorgensen, 1996). A remark in which the humor results from the ridicule of oneself or others constitutes disparagement (Siegel, 1995). Lastly, teasing is meant to engage all interlocutors in a jocular frame where the comment isn't meant to be taken at truth-value but to engage in a humorous frame.

The present study provides a detailed sequential discourse analysis, clearly demonstrating that both Spanish and Portuguese are available as distinct linguistic resources for pragmatic functions, and provides a clear understanding of how code-switching is used to shift from serious to non-serious frames in these family conversations. As our analysis, which includes both linguistic and extralinguistic elements of language alternation, will show, locals capitalize on the inherent solidarity evoked by the use of Portuguese when speaking Spanish, in order to shift from serious to non-serious speech to express irony, sarcasm, disparagement, and teasing. We conclude that, despite prolonged bilingualism and frequent language mixing, the separation of languages in this community continues to be available for the complex manipulation of discourse functions, as seen in other contexts of contact between cognate Romance languages (e.g.: see the work by Álvarez Cáccamo, 2000, on Galician and Spanish, by Woolard, 2015, on Spanish and Catalan, and by Koven, 2006, on Portuguese and French).

Spanish in contact with Portuguese in northern Uruguay

Portuguese has been spoken in the northern part of Uruguay since the beginning of the European presence in the region. While Spanish settlers were concentrated along the La Plata River banks in the south of Uruguay, around what is today the Montevideo area, the northern parts remained populated scarcely by Portuguese-speaking settlers throughout colonial times. It was not until 1862 that national borders dividing Brazil and Uruguay were demarcated, followed shortly by the foundation of Uruguayan villages along the border as an attempt to populate the area with Spanish-speaking migrants. Another important measure taken by the national government to Hispanicize the north and counteract the presence of Portuguese was the establishment of elementary schools along the border where Spanish was the only language taught and attendance obligatory (Barrios, Gbbiani, Behares, Elizaincín y Mazzolini; 1993). These nation-building methods were pivotal in imposing the Spanish language on the Portuguese-speaking local population. However, despite the fact that Spanish-only language policies continued to be enforced throughout the twentieth century, Portuguese remained the language spoken by locals and transmitted to offspring due to its strong cultural value, one that defines and differentiates the *fronterizo* dweller from their compatriots from the south (Behares, 1984; Elizaincín, 1992; Carvalho, 2006). The cultural value assigned to Uruguayan Portuguese, in addition to the proximity with Brazil and exposure to Brazilian media, have successfully hindered language shift towards Spanish, resulting in a situation of societal bilingualism. In addition, the maintenance of Portuguese has been enabled by a somewhat diglossic situation, since Uruguayan Portuguese, which has been passed down through generations as the local, minority language and is kept as the home language used in in-group interactions, coexists with the national, prestigious Spanish, used in public domains and preferred by the middle class.

Portuguese in Uruguay was first investigated by Rona (1965), a dialectologist who identified a linguistic variety in the northern areas that was structurally different from Spanish, which he classified as Portuguese-based *Fronterizo*. In the time since this seminal work was published, multiple studies have analyzed this variety's morphosyntax (Elizaincín, Behares, & Barrios, 1987; Carvalho 2014, 2016; Pacheco, 2017), phonology (Carvalho 2003a, 2004; Meirelles, 2009; Castañeda Molla, 2016), pragmatics (Carvalho & Kern, 2020), and lexicon (Barrios, 1991; Carvalho 2003b). Different studies reach different conclusions about the extent to which contact with Spanish has resulted in linguistic change in Uruguayan Portuguese. While qualitative investigations tend to point toward

a mixed, third code, quantitative analyses have pointed toward dialectal continuities between Uruguayan and Brazilian Portuguese, concluding that despite heavy lexical borrowing and frequent language mixing in informal interactions, border varieties of Portuguese have maintained linguistic integrity, which leads to frequent code-switching, enabling the analysis of said code-switching.

In fact, code-switching between Spanish and Portuguese was detected throughout the 19TH century in documents and personal letters written by locals in northern Uruguay by Bertolotti, Caviglia, Coll and Fernández (2004). The presence of both languages in those documents leads Caviglia, Bertolotti, and Coll (2008) to claim that the situation across the region at that time was one of bilingualism without diglossia. While research about the current language contact situation has been prolific since the second half of the twentieth century, to the best of our knowledge, work on code-switching in northern Uruguay has not been done. On the Brazilian side of the border, Amaral (2008) analyzed Spanish-Portuguese alternations in the Chuy-Chui area, in the northeastern part of the Uruguay-Brazil border. Because Chuy, Uruguay, does not share a tradition of Portuguese speaking due to its history of colonization by Spaniards and geographic isolation, Amaral focuses on code-switching performed by Spanish-Portuguese bilinguals in the town of Chuí, Brazil, and concludes that the vast majority of the occurrences are triggered by a bilingual interlocutor. In another study, Gonçalves, Mozzillo, and Kurtz-dos-Santos (2015) documented cases of code-switching in commercial transactions between Spanish-speaking Uruguayans and Portuguese-speaking Brazilians in the town of Jaguarão, Brazil, made possible due to a high level of mutual comprehension. This situation is similar to other communities along the border between Brazil and other Spanish-speaking countries, where monolingual nationals from both countries meet during commercial transactions and negotiate meaning by using both languages, as studied by Rojas Molina (2008) on the Brazilian-Colombian border. Historical and sustained Portuguese-Spanish bilingualism in northern Uruguay provides us with an unexplored and fertile field of study of code-switching between cognate languages in situations of prolonged societal bilingualism, one that we proceed to explore below.

Methods

Sociolinguistic studies that examine language behavior in northern Uruguay have typically relied on interviews with locals carried out by outside investigators (Elizaincín, 1992; Carvalho, 2003b, 2004, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2016; Douglas, 2004; Watermire, 2008, 2010; Carvalho & Bessett, 2017; Carvalho & Kern,

2019; Pacheco, 2017; etc.). While the data collected by these investigators have contributed to multiple morphosyntactic and phonological analyses of border varieties of Portuguese and Spanish, little is known about code-switching behavior, prevalent in interactions amongst community members (Poplack, 1993, 2015). In addition, spontaneous conversations among acquaintances produce a more informal style than sociolinguistic interviews, and informal styles allow for language barriers to fall and dynamic mixing to take place (Zentella, 1997), a style that could be deprived of pragmatic meanings (as illustrated in Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2018's data). This study examines spontaneous language interaction among family members and friends to avoid the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972), in order to confirm the presence and types of pragmatically meaningful code-switching, with a special focus on the ability of speakers to capitalize on language divergence when engaging in humor.

Data Collection

Data was collected by the first author in Rivera, Uruguay, the largest urban center in the region, with approximately 76,000 inhabitants. Mostly bilingual, this border community is by far the most studied in the region (Carvalho, 2014). The participants were four individuals from two different families, Carmen and Eric and Carlos and Alicia, all of whom were acquaintances of the first author and had previously participated in another linguistic study. For this research project, the investigator contacted the participants and explained that she was in town for two weeks to collect linguistic data produced during spontaneous speech and would like to record interactions while visiting with them. The participants promptly agreed to help with the data collection and while they were not financially compensated for their participation in the study, the investigator provided food and beverages for some of the gatherings. After a first visit to catch up on life events that occurred since the last time they saw each other, the investigator explained their intent to collect data during the subsequent visits.

During the following visits, and with all the participants' consent, a video camera was placed on the top of a tripod in the corner of the room where the investigator was interacting with the participants and occasionally, with friends that would stop by. This type of data collection yielded a great deal of semi-natural conversations, despite the presence of the camera and of the investigator as a participant observer. This was possible since both family interactions and conversations with regular visitors took place following the local norms, allowing for the observation of such norms. As explained by Blom and Gumperz (2000,

p. 98) in describing their experience collecting similar data in Norway, the fact that the interlocutors have pre-existing obligations toward each other lead them to respond to such obligations in spite of the presence of strangers.

A total of 12.4 hours of footage was recorded in both households for five days. Both households were lower-middle-class families who lived in midtown Rivera for their entire lives, in a neighborhood where one can typically hear both Spanish and Portuguese outside and inside the houses. While both couples in families A and B (see Table 1) acquired Portuguese as their first language, Carlos and Alicia's children (Bianca and Florencia) were raised listening to both languages in their households, and clearly preferred Spanish, a common trend among the younger generation in their socio-economic group (Carvalho, 2010; Waltermire, 2012). All the other participants acquired Portuguese as their first language, were schooled in Spanish, and used both languages in their everyday lives; these include Carmen and Eric's friends (Selma and Patrick) and Carlos' mother (Estela).

Table 1. Language backgrounds and preferences by family, role, and language Background.

	Pseudonym*	Role	First language	School language	Language preference
Family A	Alicia	Wife/mother	Portuguese	Spanish	Both
	Carlos	Husband/father	Portuguese	Spanish	Both
	Estela	Grandmother/mother	Portuguese	Spanish	Both
	Bianca	Daughter	Both	Spanish	Spanish
	Florencia	Daughter	Both	Spanish	Spanish
Family B	Eric	Husband	Portuguese	Spanish	Both
	Carmen	Wife	Portuguese	Spanish	Both
	Selma	Friend	Portuguese	Spanish	Both

The segments analyzed here were extracted from two separate interactions, one in each of the households. At Alicia and Carlos' house (figure 1), the excerpts were extracted from a two-hour Sunday dinner with the couple (middle), the grandmother Estela (first left) who came to visit with the investigator (first right), and the couple's two children, sitting by their grandmother's side.

At Carmen and Eric's house (figure 2), the excerpts were extracted during a 3-hour visit from Selma, Carmen's friend, who sat in the living room near the front door. The investigator (first left), Carmen (second left) and Selma (first

* Pseudonyms assigned by the investigators.

right) were present for the entire visit, while Eric, Carmen's husband (standing up), was in and out of the room.

Figure 1. Alicia and Carlos' house.

Figure 2. Carmen and Eric's house.

Data Analysis

In order to analyze in-group communication to complement current work on Uruguayan Portuguese, we transcribed all the 12.4 hours of video recordings with the CLAN software so that we could assess the extent to which the languages mixed randomly.

The examples below illustrate how data were classified according to different language contact phenomena identified in the transcripts, including Spanish, Portuguese, bivalent terms, borrowings, and code-switches. Examples 1 and 2 illustrate unmixed speech in Spanish and Portuguese, respectively. Example 3 illustrates bivalent terms, which, according to Woolard (1998), refer to "words or segments that could equally 'belong' to both codes" (p. 7), which in this case refers to Spanish and Portuguese. Borrowings, also known as loanwords, are lone Portuguese lexical items used in a Spanish segment, as illustrated in example 4. Finally, we identified and further analyzed code-switches as multi-word segments in Portuguese that are interpolated into Spanish speech, as shown in example 5, where Portuguese is in italics and Spanish in regular typeface.

(1) Spanish
Carmen: ¿Y los hijos?
Translation: And the kids?
Interviewer: Por tí, creo.
Translation: For you, I think.

(2) Portuguese
Selma: *Se separaram.*
Translation: They separated.
Carmen: *A semana passada*
Translation: Last week.
Carmen: *Ah, ela descobriu.*
Translation: Ah, she found out.
Carmen: *Me cansou de mandar email.*
Translation: He sent me a bunch of emails.

(3) Bivalent Terms
Carmen: Por qué?
Translation: Why?

(4) Borrowing
Eric: El *filho* de la gran puta.
Translation: The *son* of a bitch!

(5) Code-Switch
Patricia: O sea *que me dá um tapa* en la cabeza.
Translation: So *(he) slaps me on* the head.

While a quantitative scale of language contact phenomena in this data set is outside the scope of this paper, a preliminary analysis of these phenomena was carried out and showed that the conversations often maintained a clearly detectable language base. In addition, the switches from one language to another were often meaningful. It is the meaning of these switches that will be discussed in this paper, as we look at how changes from Spanish to Portuguese show a humorous shift from serious to non-serious tones.

More specifically, our qualitative analysis examines instances of switches from Spanish to Portuguese that, together with gestures and prosody, created clear switches from serious to non-serious speech to perform irony, sarcasm, disparagement and teasing. The analysis focuses on these four types of humor, as they emerged from the data, for their ability to demonstrate the range and variety of humor in code-switching. The discourse analysis (Schiffrin, 1997) presented below draws particularly on the importance of sequential organization of interactions, including participants' contributions and responses to conversational turns, including relevant gestures.

Analysis of Code-Switching and humor

Below, we present an analysis of four examples of code-switching for humor within the dataset. These were selected for their ability to demonstrate how individuals exploit code-switching as a resource which enables them to switch from serious to non-serious frames. These excerpts were also chosen for their ability to demonstrate four distinct types of humor which emerged from the dataset: irony, sarcasm, disparagement, and teasing. We additionally delved into the rich humor literature in order to analyze these excerpts and define and distinguish their qualities. The first excerpt demonstrates how Alicia employs irony in a dinner conversation, switching to Portuguese to state that she abandoned Brazil. In an excerpt from that same dinner, Carlos switches to Portuguese for a sarcastic remark about the children's eating habits. The third and fourth excerpts are from Carmen and Eric's house. First, Carmen switches to Portuguese for a disparaging

remark about children, and then, Eric and Carmen tease each other about their attendance at a wedding. Italics denote Portuguese while plain text is used for Spanish or bivalent terms. Additional transcription conventions are detailed at the end of the article (Appendix).

Irony

The first example (6) is from a long Sunday dinner at Carlos and Alicia's house. Alicia's mother, Estela, came to visit with the investigator, and Carlos' and Alicia's two girls were also at the dinner. In the following example, the investigator asks whether they continue going to Brazil.

(6) "Eu abandonei o Brasil"

1 Researcher: ¿Uds. siguen yendo a Brasil, ¿o no? ¿A comprar cosas allá en el
2 mercado?
3 Alicia: ↑Sí.
4 Researcher: ¿Sí? ¿Pero no está más caro allá?
5 Alicia: Algu:nas cosas.
6 Researcher: Algunas cosas.
7 Estela: (2.0) *Eu abandonei o Brasil*.
8 Researcher: *Totalmente* Estela?
9 Estela: ↑No:. Voy a ve:ces, pero no.
10 Researcher: Pero tienes a tus amigas allá, ¿no?
11 Estela: [Sí.
12 Researcher: ¿Tenés?]
13 Estela: Sí.
14 Researcher: ¿Dices de compras?
15 Estela: ((nods))

Translation:

1 Researcher: Do you continue to going to Brazil, or no? To buy things there in the
2 market?
3 Alicia: ↑Yes.
4 Researcher: Yes? But isn't it more expensive there?
5 Alicia: So:me things.
6 Researcher: Some things.
7 Estela: (2.0) *I abandoned Brazil.*
8 Researcher: *Completely*, Estela?
9 Estela: ↑No:. I go so:metimes, but no.

10 Researcher: But you have your friends there, right?
11 Estela: Yes.
12 Researcher: Do you?
13 Estela: Yes.
14 Researcher: You mean, to go shopping?
15 Estela: ((nods))

In Excerpt 1, the investigator asks whether they continue going to Brazil to buy things. Alicia responds affirmatively with a raised intonation, suggesting that this is obvious, apparent or logical. As a follow-up, the investigator asks, 'But isn't it more expensive there?' Then, Alicia responds "some things" with a lengthened vowel that foregrounds the adjective 'some' and indicates that not all things are more expensive in Brazil. After a two second (2.0) pause, Estela comments in Portuguese, "I abandoned Brazil." The pause and the switch to Portuguese from an entirely Spanish conversation highlight this statement. The (2.0) second pause along with Estela's slower paced speech, increased volume, and code-switch for this utterance serve to separate the comment from the other faster paced conversation. It is also relevant that this code-switch coincides with a marked contrast with Alicia's confident 'Yes' response. In line 8, the investigator follows Estela's choice of code, but Estela returns to Spanish responding "No" with a raised intonation and lengthened vowel, clarifying that she does go sometimes. The investigator then asks, "You have friends there, right?", to which Estela responds affirmatively.

By definition, irony is an utterance with "a literal evaluation that is implicitly contrary to its intended evaluation" (Burgers *et al.*, 2011, p. 190). In this excerpt, Estela's comment "Eu abandonei o Brasil" functions as irony in markers of utterance, which according to Burgers' and Van Mulken's typology (2017), includes schemes such as repetition and hyperboles. Estela's comment uses a hyperbolic construction with the lexical choice of 'abandoned' instead of a more neutral phrase. Estela did not comment that she does not go to Brazil. Instead, she exaggerated, stating that she abandoned Brazil.

Keeping in mind that there is no one-to-one correspondence between function and form, while the code-switch highlights the role of irony in this excerpt, it can also be seen to function in several other ways. Within the context of this conversation, Estela's code-switch into Portuguese demonstrates distance from Alicia's quick affirmative statement that she goes to Brazil, similar to other work that has shown the use of code-switching to denote metaphorical distance

(Gumperz, 1982; Mendoza-Denton & Osborne, 2009). Furthermore, Alicia's language choice of Portuguese may signify that she has not totally abandoned Brazil and may instead draw a connection to Brazil even while she is literally stating that she has abandoned it. While it is possible that the code-switching in Excerpt 1 may carry these additional functions, irony is very clearly achieved through the contradiction between the literal evaluation and the intended meaning.

Sarcasm

Later on during the same Sunday dinner at Carlos and Alicia's house, there is another example of code-switching for humor (7). This time Carlos provides an example of a sarcastic code-switch. It comes out of a conversation about children's eating habits, more specifically that they should eat what is prepared for them.

(7) "Aqui também é assim"

1 Alicia: Claro. Hay que comer a la hora de comer.
2 Researcher: Mhm.
3 Alicia: No come, mala suerte. ((horizontal hand motion))
4 Researcher: Y: come lo que tiene en la mesa. Yo nunca le preparo nada especial.
5 Carlos: ((puts down silverware, crosses arms)) Oh, *aqui também é assim*. ((looks
6 across the table at daughter, touches nose, purses lips and blows a kiss to daughter))
7 (3.5)
8 Alicia: ↑Qué mentiro:so.
9 Carlos: (xxx)
10 Alicia: Aquí se come lo que se pone en la mesa a no ser cuando yo hago sardina
11 (xxx).
12 Carlos: Ah, bueno.
13 Researcher: Ah, bueno.
14 Carlos: Bueno. No hay que haber gran decepciones.
15 Researchers: No, pero la sardina no es este cualquier uno.
16 Estela: Ah, (xxx).
17 Researchers: A mí me gusta pero los niños se les da (xxx).
18 Alicia: No hay manera. Es solo comer.

Translation:

1 Alicia: Of course. You need eat when it's time to eat.
2 Researcher: Mhm.

3 Alicia: If you don't eat, you're out of luck. ((horizontal hand motion))
4 Researcher: A:nd eat what's at the table. I never prepare anything special for them.
5 Carlos: ((puts down silverware, crosses arms)) Oh, *it's the same here, too.* ((looks
6 across the table at daughter, touches nose, purses lips and blows a kiss to daughter))
7 (3.5)
8 Alicia: ↑What a liar.
9 Carlos: (xxx)
10 Alicia: Here everyone eats what is put at the table unless I make sardines.
11 (xxx).
12 Carlos: Ah, well.
13 Researcher: Ah, well.
14 Carlos: Well. We don't need to make grand deceptions.
15 Researcher: No, but sardines, it's not for Everyone.
16 Estela: Ah, (xxx).
17 Researcher: I like it but the kids, they get (xxx).
18 Alicia: There's no way. It's only to eat.

In this excerpt on the topic of children's eating habits, Alicia comments that she insists that the children eat at dinner time, and if they don't eat they are out of luck. In response, the investigator suggested that children also need to eat what's on the table, and she comments that she doesn't prepare anything special for children. At this, Carlos puts down his silverware, crosses his arms, and switches to Portuguese to say, "Ah, it's the same here, too." He looks across the table at his youngest daughter, touches his nose, purses his lips and blows a kiss to his youngest daughter who then sits up a bit. After a notable three point five (3.5) second pause where Alicia and the investigator both pause from eating to look up at Carlos, Alicia raises the tone of her voice as says, "What a liar" in Spanish. Carlos responds, but his response is unintelligible, short and overlapped with Alicia who continues speaking and states, "Here everyone eats what is put at the table as long as it's not sardines." Both Carlos and the investigator respond, "Ah well" in lines 12 and 13. Then Carlos says, "Ok, but we don't need to make great deceptions." The investigator responds, aligning herself with Alicia by saying that sardines are not for everyone. In lines 16-18, Estela, Alicia and the investigator agree that there's no way for the kids to eat sardines.

Carlos' code-switch is an example of sarcasm, which has been described as "a negative critical attitude held by speakers that is expressed to mock and criticize

other persons or intents" (Kreuz & Glucksberg, 1989; Lee & Katz, 1998). Like other forms of verbal irony, the expression of sarcasm in speech is characterized by indirect language meant to be interpreted non-literally by the listener. In this excerpt, Carlos's use of sarcasm is aimed at his wife, to suggest that it is not that way in their house. As in other excerpts, we see the layering and the exploitation of various linguistic and paralinguistic features. For example, the prolonged 3.5 second pause, Carlos's gestures as he puts down his silverware, stares across the table at his youngest daughter, folds his arms, tightens his lips and blows her a kiss. This 'kiss' could be interpreted as a softening device.

More specifically, this excerpt fits the specifications for sarcastic irony, which is typically used to complain to or criticize intimates, who are usually hearers of the remarks (Jorgensen, 1996). Jorgensen (1996) suggests that sarcasm can serve a face-saving function, making the speaker appear less rude and unfair, particularly when expressing a trivial criticism. Additionally, previous research has suggested that speakers convey sarcasm through manipulations of fundamental frequency (F0), amplitude, speech rate, voice quality, and/or nasal resonance (e.g., Schaffer, 1982; Rockwell, 2000, 2005, 2007; Anolli, Ciceri, & Infantino, 2002). Through a switch to Portuguese, Carlos heightens the nasal resonance of his speech. While acoustic features alone are not enough to recognize sarcasm (Cheng & Pell, 2011), Carlos uses this feature of Portuguese as an additional resource in this case to switch from a serious to non-serious frame in the conversation.

Disparagement

The next two examples are from Carmen and Eric's home. Carmen's friend Selma was visiting, and they were chatting about mutual friends. In this conversation they discuss some friends who were trying to have children.

(8) "Eles são umas praga"

1 Selma: Y ellos siguen intentando: (1.0) tener?
2 Carmen: Sí.
4 Selma: ¿Quién es? ¿Ella?
5 Carlos: Ella. Sí. Ya tiene dos. ((shakes her shoulders))
6 Selma: ↓Sí más deben de quere:r. ((looks away and combs hand through hair,
7 looking down))
8 Carmen: Ah, sí. ((looking down at coffee cup)) *Não é o mesmo não. Aparte aqueles*

9 *são umas praga*.
10 Researcher: hhh

Translation:

1 Selma: And are they still trying (1.0) to have?
2 Carmen: Yes.
4 Selma: ¿Who? ¿Her?
5 Carmen: Her. Yes. She already has two. ((shakes her shoulders))
6 Selma: ↓Yes, but she must wa:nt one. ((looks away and combs hand through hair,
7 looking down))
8 Carmen: Ah, yes. ((looking down at coffee cup)) *It's really not the same. Besides*
9 *they are a plague.*
10 Researcher: hhh

Selma asks whether the couple is still trying to have children. Although the word *children* is elided, Carmen responds affirmatively and says that 'she', presumably the female of the couple, is. Carmen confirms the response, and states that she already has two children. At this point, Selma turns towards the wall and away from her two interlocutors, combs her hand through her hair, looks downward, and her tone drops as she states "Yes, but she must want one." At this, Carmen looks down at her coffee cup, moving it in a circular motion, and states, "It's not the same. And besides, they're a plague." In Brazilian Portuguese, 'praga' literally means plague, but it is also slang for something equivalent to calling someone a 'pain in the neck'.

Siegel (1995) reviews the three main theories of humor: incongruity theory, disparagement theory, and release theory. Disparagement theory suggests that humor arises from the ridicule of others, especially enemies or those who have inferior status. Here, Selma and Carmen together construct a frame whereby they talk negatively about children. To do this, they use various conversational strategies. The kinesics of looking down and away from interlocutors, voice quality of using a lower and quieter voice, and additionally, Carmen code-switches to Portuguese.

In this example, code-switching is indicative of negative politeness as it acts to distance the speaker from the intended content of the utterance. In this way, Carmen's code-switch is a softening device used to carry out abrupt and impolite statements. Again, the code-switch is not carried out in isolation, but it is carried out together with a lowered tone and quieter volume and gestures of looking away from the interlocutors in the conversation. These features further highlight the function of the code-switch as softening a disparaging remark.

Teasing

(9) "Eu tô pensando em não ir"

1 Carmen: Sí, ella puso, pero dijo que era para los niños también. Ella hizo así porque
2 hay mucha gente que ella no quiere que ((touches Selma's leg))
3 Eric: HUMM. HUMM. ((shakes head, purses lips)) *Eu -tô pensando em não ir.*
4 (opens the door and leaves the house))
5 Carmen: *Não. Agora eu já comprei vestido queri:do.* ((makes a bad face))

Translation

1 Carmen: Yes, she put that, but she said it was for the kids also. She did it like this,
2 because she said there's a lot of people that she doesn't want to ((touches Selma's leg))
3 Eric: HUMM. HUMM. ((shakes head, purses lips)) *I'm thinking about not going*
4 ((opens the door and 4 leaves the house))
5 Car: *No. Now I already bought the dress, dea:r.* ((makes a bad face))

In this excerpt (9), Carmen, Eric and Selma are talking about an upcoming wedding that Carmen and Eric will attend. Selma looks at the invitation and notices that it only has Carmen and Eric's names but not the children's names. Carmen clarifies that it was also an invitation meant for their children as well (line 1). She suggests that the bride-to-be wrote the invitation this way, because there are many people who they don't want to bring their children. She touches Selma's leg as if to insinuate that she may know the ones she's referring to. At this, Eric feigns being offended. Replying "hummm" loudly two times, he shakes his head and switches to Portuguese to state, "I'm thinking about not going." At this, he opens the door and leaves the house, which serves to go along with his play-offense, as if that were the reason that he is storming out of the house. In line 5, Carmen responds with a retort, "No. Now I already bought the dress, dear." In doing so, she teases him back, suggesting that the new dress would be the only reason she would go.

Teasing is "a higher-order concept embracing jocular utterances performing a variety of pragmatic functions (such as mock challenges, threats or imitation) the meaning of which is not to be treated as truth-oriented and which invariably carries humorous force to be appreciated by both interlocutors" (Dynel, 2009, p. 1293) (See also Drew, 1987; Norrick, 1993; Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997; Partington, 2006; Martin, 2007; Dynel, 2008). In this excerpt, Eric teases the women, performing a mock offense at the lack of inclusion of their children on the invitation and the exclusion of certain children to the wedding. Eric's repetition of "Humm", shaking his head, switching to Portuguese and leaving the house, all serve to

demonstrate Eric's teasing nature and a switch from serious to non-serious talk. Carmen continues in Portuguese when she teases him back that they need to go, since she bought the dress. In doing so, she continues the non-serious frame with the Portuguese code-switch that Eric has initiated.

Dynel (2009) states that in teasing, "the speaker does not mean to be genuinely offensive towards the hearer, challenging the latter jocularly, i.e. speaking within a humorous frame..." (p. 1293). The fact that Eric leaves the house demonstrates that this is a non-serious remark and that he is not trying to initiate a serious discussion of whether they will attend the wedding, since he does not remain to discuss a change in plans. Rather, both parties are teasing each other. Eric teases the women and their conversation, and his wife Carmen teases him right back. In Excerpt 4, the code-switch demarcates the switch between and serious and humorous tone, in this case teasing.

Key Findings and Conclusion

While the limited number of interactions analyzed here undoubtedly constitutes a limitation of this study, two important contributions emerge from these analyses. First, the data presented here seriously call into question any prior assumption that the cognate languages tend to mix in random and unpredictable ways in situations of societal bilingualism. In our analysis of spontaneous speech among acquaintances in northern Uruguay, we have seen that switches from Spanish to Portuguese were clearly identifiable, countering the claim that Portuguese and Spanish have merged into a single, mixed code, one that no longer enables pragmatic code-switching. This conclusion is evidenced by the detection of language alternations as key elements in shifting from serious to non-serious frames, including irony, sarcasm, disparagement, and teasing. Importantly, our interpretation of conversational-shift via switching from Spanish to Portuguese is rectified by our inspection of other concomitant linguistic resources such as a change in voice quality, stance-taking, gestures, and topic, as we noted that the layering of features of speech make the code-switch and the shift in frame from serious to non-serious more salient.

Secondly, a close detailed sequential analysis of these events serves to bring humor studies to the fore in linguistics research. Rather than identifying instances of code-switching for humor as one among many functions, this study serves to demonstrate that an analysis of particular types of humor may give further insight into the various pragmatic functions they serve within distinct conversations. For instance, in Estela's comment 'Eu abandonei o Brasil' (I abandoned Brazil), she describes her distance from Brazil with her words but simultaneously demons-

trates solidarity through the choice of Portuguese and use of irony. Carlos uses sarcastic irony to poke fun at his wife and children, when he states 'aqui também é assim' (it's the same here), where the code-switch and his gestures serve to soften the critique. Carmen's disparagement of children as 'uma praga' (a pain in the neck) builds solidarity with Selma, while the code-switch softens her remarks and distances her from the negative comment. Finally, when Eric responds '-tô pensando em não ir' (I'm thinking about not going), he enters into the conversation and builds comradery with the women through his mock offense, and his wife Carmen follows with her mock offense 'já comprei meu vestido' (I already bought by dress). Thus, these excerpts demonstrate the ability of humor to simultaneously serve multiple, diverse functions. Crucially, this study demonstrates the benefits of interdisciplinarity, as humor studies have provided important insights for the analysis of these conversations.

Overall, this study draws attention to the importance of community rules over presuppositions about language mixing that are based purely on language typology. In their seminal work of conversational code-switching between a local and standard dialect in Norway, Blom and Gumperz (2000) asked "why, despite their substantial similarities, and the fact that most speakers commanded both varieties, the two varieties were largely maintained as separate?" (p. 417). They concluded that the most reasonable assumption is that the linguistic separateness is conditioned by social factors. Auer (1999, p. 22) adds to Blom and Gumperz's claim by reminding us that the stabilization of the community in each stage of his typology of language contact output, from pragmatic-induced alternations to random fused mixed, will depend on the social configurations of the bilingual community (p. 22). As claimed by Carvalho (2014), bilingual towns along the Uruguayan-Brazilian border have undergone urbanization, which, in addition to a diglossic dynamics of language choice and proximity to and interaction with surrounding monolingual communities, make the sedimentation of a fused lect very unlikely (p. 288-289). As a result, while it would be a mistake to assume that all switches are conscious and strategic, the separation of languages remains available for manipulation of discourse functions, here revealed through fluctuations between serious and non-serious talk.

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Appendix. Transcription conventions

. at the end of words marks falling intonation
, at the end of words marks a slight pause (longer than 0.5 seconds)
! animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
(0.5) a pause greater than 0.5 seconds with amount of seconds included in parentheses
[on numbered line denotes overlapping speech
hhh laughter
- self or other interruption
? rising intonation in clause
: elongated sound
" " reported speech
↑ raised pitch
(( )) comments, including gestures
italics Portuguese